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ITHACA: A STUDY OF THE HOMERIC EVIDENCE

By FRANK BREWSTER

IN the opening lines of the Ninth Book of the *Odyssey*, Odysseus thus describes his home: ¹

And I dwell in clear-seen Ithaca, wherein is a mountain Neriton, with trembling forest leaves, standing manifest to view, and many islands lie around, very near one to the other, Dulichium and Same, and wooded Zacynthus. Now Ithaca lies low, furthest up the sea-line toward the darkness, but those others face the dawning and the sun: a rugged isle, but a good nurse of noble youths; and for myself I can see nought besides sweeter than a man's own country.

In Book 1, 245 ff., and again in Book 16, 122 ff., Telemachus says:

For all the noblest that are princes in the isles, in Dulichium and Same and wooded Zacynthus, and as many as lord it in rocky Ithaca, all these woo my mother and waste my house.

In Book 19, 131 ff., Penelope says:

For all the noblest that are princes in the isles, in Dulichium and Same and wooded Zacynthus, and they that dwell around even in clear-seen Ithaca, these are. . . .

These passages establish conclusively that, to the mind of the poet, Ithaca was one of a group of four principal islands, with other and presumably smaller islands in their vicinity. The account of Telemachus's trip to visit Nestor at Pylos and Menelaus at Sparta further establishes that these islands lay off the west coast of Greece in the vicinity of the entrance to the great gulf which separates Peloponnesus from Northern Greece. This will appear clearly later in the discussion of the voyage.

In fact, four of the Ionian Islands are situate just in this place, and there are many smaller islands lying in their vicinity on their landward sides. The most northern of these four is Santa Maura,

¹ Quotations from Homer are from the Translation by Butcher and Lang unless otherwise stated.

located close to the northwest coast of Acarnania and called in ancient times Leucas; its dimensions are about 19 miles from north to south and 8 miles from east to west; the modern population is about 30,000.¹ Just south of this island is Cephalonia. Its northern point, Cape Vlioti, lies southward five miles from Cape Dukato, the southern extremity of Leucas. Cephalonia is about $27\frac{1}{4}$ miles long north to south on its east coast, with a varying width of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 19 miles; the modern population is about 71,000.² Just east of Cephalonia is Thiaki, or Ithaca, as it has always been known since historic Greek times. This island is much the smallest of the four. Its total length north to south is about 13 miles, its greatest width about 4 miles; the modern population is about 12,000.³ Ithaca, or Thiaki, is separated from Cephalonia by a narrow channel about 12 miles long and from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide.⁴ South of these two islands and separated from Cephalonia by a channel 8 or 9 miles wide is Zante, known from historic Greek times as Zacynthus, of which its modern name is an Italian corruption. Its length from northwest to southeast is about 19 miles, its width about 9 miles; the modern population is about 42,502.⁵

Here, at first glance, would seem to be our four Homeric islands, and the identity of the old names of two of them with the Homeric names would seem to render this identification easy. This is only in seeming, however. The subject apparently bristles with the gravest difficulties.

To the ancient Greeks, Leucas did not seem to be an island, but a peninsula. Professor Manly, in *Ithaca or Leucas*,⁶ cites the authorities and agrees with this view. So also do Victor Bérard, in *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, and Eduard Engel, in *Der Wohnsitz des Odysseus*. Walter Leaf, in *Homer and History*, and T. D. Seymour, in *Life in the Homeric Age*, reach the opposite conclusion.

¹ *Mediterranean Pilot*, vol. III, p. 456. References to the *Mediterranean Pilot* are to the American Edition, 1917. Distances quoted from the *Pilot* are in nautical miles of about 2000 yards each.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 475, 476.

³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 488. The last edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica gives the population as 13,000.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 476, 477.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 493.

⁶ *Univ. of Missouri Studies*, II, no. 1.

The fact seems to be that Leucas is a sort of amphibian and can without great liberty be looked at in either way. Surrounded for the most part by deep water, it is separated at its northeast corner from the mainland only by a shallow lagoon. The Admiralty Chart copied by Bérard ¹ shows this lagoon to be about three miles wide from north to south and to be composed of mud flats covered by about one foot of water. The northern border of these flats is cut off from the open sea by a sand-spit which, starting from the northeast corner of Leucas, projects northeasterly towards the mainland, but curves more northerly as it approaches the mainland and is always separated from it by a narrow branch of the lagoon. The enlarged chart by Partsch, copied in Professor Manly's article, shows the same conditions. Bérard calls this an isthmus of mud, marsh, and pond-holes, and believes that the present conditions go back to Homeric times and that the island was then, as now, not circumnavigable. Both he and Professor Manly refer to the Greek accounts of the Corinthian colonists digging a channel through here for their ships about 700 B.C. Apparently, ever since that time down to the modern era, there has been more or less continuously a channel made by man, through which small boats could pass. To-day the channel has been deepened by further dredging. Bérard thinks that this island has always been open to invasion by land forces; and, whether or not the mud flats could have been waded, it would seem that the sand-spit could always have been reached and must have afforded such a passage.

The whole question seems largely to depend on what is the definition of an island, and particularly what was the definition in the time of Homer. If by island is meant a body of land so surrounded by water that it cannot be reached by man without swimming or the use of a boat, there would seem to be good reason to infer that Leucas could not be one of the Homeric islands. On the other hand, if by island is meant any land surrounded by water, whether navigable or not, then Leucas would appear to be unquestionably an island.

As a matter of fact, it has always been customary with our race to describe a piece of solid ground surrounded by salt marsh as an island. Oak Island, in the Lynn marshes, is an example which readily occurs to me. Romney, in the Anglo-Saxon period, seems to have been such

¹ Victor Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, II, p. 429.

a marsh island.¹ Even Bérard says the same of the place he identifies as Circe's island:²

Le Monte Circeo, pour les marins, a toujours été une île, bien qu'il tienne par l'une de ses façades à la plaine du continent. "Située à l'extrémité sud des marais Pontins, cette montagne a l'apparence d'une île quand on la voit à distance," reprennent les *Instructions nautiques*. C'est bien une île, en effet: la mer libre la baigne sur les faces du Sud et de l'Ouest; elle trempe dans les lagunes et les marécages, dans la mer des marais Pontins, à l'Est et au Nord. 'Cette Montagne de Kirkè est vraiment insulaire entre la mer et les marais,' dit Strabon.

The copy of Partsch's chart annexed to Professor Manly's article is marked "Original — Karte der Insel Leukas." The *Mediterranean Pilot*³ simply refers to it as the "Island of Santa Maura, ancient Leucas." The Encyclopaedia Britannica merely names it as one of the Ionian islands, without any suggestion of its being a peninsula. Even Bérard, when not thinking, speaks of it as an island. In Vol. II, p. 434, we read, "Aujourd'hui, nous appelons Sainte-Maure cette île que," etc.; and again, a little further down the page, "C'était, à l'autre extrémité de l'île, une pointe abrupte, un rocher blanc, la Pierre Blanche"; and again, p. 435, "qu'un détroit navigable sépare de cette île l'Acarnanie."⁴ It seems perfectly natural for us to-day to think of Leucas as an island, and yet up to within a comparatively recent date, there was no difference between ancient and modern Leucas, except the fact that man had dug a channel through the lagoon and sand-spit which, according to Bérard, had but three feet of water and could be used only by small boats, and which indeed seemed to him more like a moat than a canal.

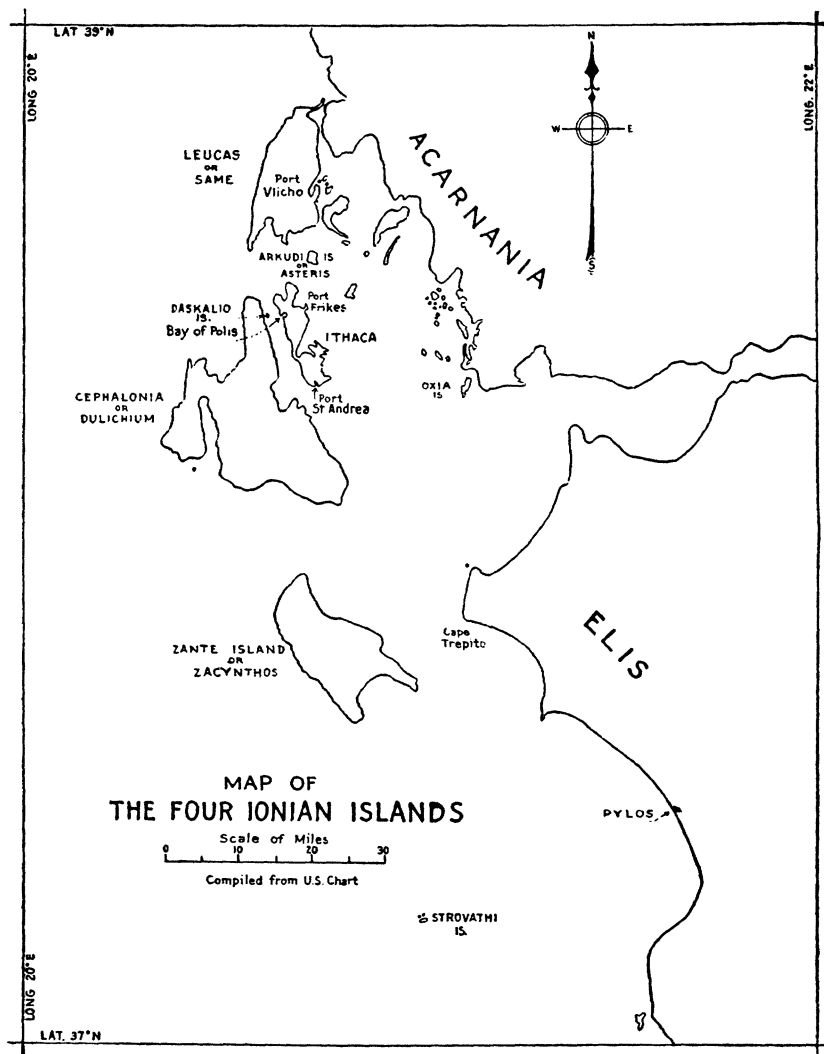
If it is natural for us to-day to think and speak of Leucas as an island, it is certainly reasonable to assume that the people of Homer's days entertained similar views. The fact that the Greeks of the historical period regarded it as a peninsula is not conclusive as to what the Achaeans thought. The lagoons were very likely deeper then. Bérard says the filling is mud, not sand, and is brought down by the torrents that fall from the hills of Acarnania in times of flood. These

¹ Isaac Taylor, *Words and Places*, N. Y., 1909, Ch. XV.

² *Op. cit.*, II, p. 267.

³ III, p. 456.

⁴ For similar views, cf. Walter Leaf, *Homer and History*, London, 1915, pp. 143 ff., and J. I. Manatt, *Aegean Days*, Boston, 1914, p. 385.



torrents have been working for nearly three thousand years since Homer wrote, and it certainly seems probable that this work has had some effective results. At all events, it is clear that, if Leucas is not one of the four islands, it is very difficult to explain the Homeric text. Apparently all the writers agree that Zante is the Homeric Zacynthus, and if one of the other three islands is missing, it must be Dulichium.

Homer says there was a small island named Asteris between Same and Ithaca. Now there are only two islands situated between these four islands: one a little rocky knoll between Thiaki and Cephalonia; the other a larger island called Arkudi between Thiaki and Leucas. If Leucas is not an island, and was not considered an island by Homer, then we have only the little rock between Thiaki and Cephalonia to answer his description. Cephalonia would then be Same, and Thiaki Ithaca, or vice versa, and Dulichium would be missing. This is a very serious question, as Dulichium was evidently the most important island of the four. According to the *Iliad*, it sent 40 ships to the Achaean army, the other three all together only 12. It supplied 52 of the suitors, the other three all together 56. The poet tells us distinctly that all the princes in the four islands had gathered for the wooing. We have a right to assume, therefore, that Dulichium had far the largest population and was probably the largest island.

Bérard tries to find Dulichium in Meganisi, a little island about three miles long and two broad, with a long and apparently uninhabitable spur projecting southeast from its southwest corner. The *Mediterranean Pilot* says of Meganisi:¹ "There are about 1000 inhabitants, who are generally poor; water is scarce." A comparison of this figure with the 70,000 of Cephalonia makes it obvious that this island could not be Dulichium.

Professor Manly says:² "Two views are held of the location of Dulichium, each supported by some evidence." The first maintains that it is identical with Pale, the western peninsula of Cephalonia, and that this was an island in Homer's time. Aside from the difficulty that as a land area it seems entirely inadequate to represent an island of the character of Dulichium, it certainly is hardly credible that the

¹ This sentence is taken from the English Edition, vol. III, p. 379.

² *Ithaca or Leucas*, p. 10.

isthmus which connects it with the rest of the island and is now, as Professor Manly says, over 4000 feet wide and 500 feet high, was elevated by nature in the few hundred years that elapsed between the time of Homer and the time when Greek history began. The second view, that it was one of the Echinades and was joined to the mainland of Greece by deposits of the Achelous, which empties into the sea by them, seems equally improbable. Leaf¹ says there has been no such change in the existing islands in the last 2400 years, and therefore it is extremely improbable that any change occurred in the coast line between the time of Homer and Herodotus. Professor Manly also refers to a third suggestion, that the island may have been washed away. This seems equally improbable. It takes a long time for the waves to submerge an island composed of gravel, and there does not appear to be any evidence that the Greek islands were so composed. Dulichium was obviously, in Homer's time, the largest and most important of the four islands. It certainly does not seem likely that any natural event would have caused the disappearance of the largest and most populous of the four islands in the short space of a few hundred years, leaving the three other islands unchanged. It is certainly more probable that the Achaeans regarded Leucas as one of the four islands named than that Dulichium disappeared completely between their time and that of Herodotus. At all events, it is clear that, if Leucas was not one of the four islands, no satisfactory explanation of the disappearance of Dulichium has yet been offered; and, if we assume that Homer was right, the only reasonable inference is that Leucas was one of the four.

The next question, as to the identification of these four islands with those named by the poet, is much more difficult. Homer was not writing a treatise on geography, and he naturally says little about the relative location of the islands to one another. There is no other contemporaneous evidence. The only way of arriving at a solution is by comparing what he does say with the actual facts and deciding which identification best suits his descriptions.

So far as Zacynthus is concerned, the several English writers cited by Mr. Shewan in his article *Leukas-Ithaca*² do not seem to differ.

¹ *Homer and History*, pp. 162, 163.

² A. Shewan, *Leukas-Ithaca*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIV.

Apparently, all are satisfied that Zante is Zacynthus. We can, therefore, take this for granted. As to the other islands, there is a wide diversity of opinion.

In regard to Ithaca, we have, first, the statement contained in Odysseus's speech, already quoted. The poet here seems to tell us that in his mental picture of the four islands Ithaca was the more westerly. Leaf's interpretation of this westerly direction as rather northwesterly, making Ithaca the last island towards the lands of the Adriatic, towards the lands of the unknown, and the last Achaean land, is very reasonable. So interpreted, these lines of the poet seem to fit Leucas only.

On the other hand, when Telemachus replies to Menelaus's offer of a chariot and horses, he says:¹

And whatsoever gift thou wouldst give me, let it be a thing to treasure; but horses I will take none to Ithaca, but leave them here to grace thine own house, for thou art lord of a wide plain wherein is lotus in great plenty, and therein is spear-reed and wheat and rye, and white and spreading barley. In Ithaca there are no wide courses, nor meadow land at all. It is a pasture land of goats, and more pleasant in my sight than one that pastureth horses; for of the isles that lie and lean upon the sea, none are fit for the driving of horses, or rich in meadow land, and least of all is Ithaca.

The poet, it is true, does not name the other three islands in this speech; but as the four are grouped together, and it would be unnatural to compare Ithaca with islands not in its group,² this speech contains the positive statement that, while none of the four islands is fit for chariot driving, Ithaca is the *least* fit of all.³ This comparative statement is not true unless the poet is thinking of Thiaki as Ithaca.

Leaf says:⁴ "Kephallenia has large plains in the southern part, still famous for their fertility." Professor Manly says:⁵ "Leucas has good meadows and is suitable for driving horses. In the north-eastern part there is a fertile well-watered plain four kilometers long by from one to two and a half wide." The *Mediterranean Pilot*, describing Santa Maura or Leucas, says,⁶ "The island has several rich

¹ *Od.* 4, 600 ff.

² Manly (*Ithaca or Leucas*, p. 9) draws the same conclusion.

³ G. H. Palmer's translation here is "Ithaca least of all."

⁴ *Homer and History*, p. 151.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁶ III, p. 456.

and fertile plains, of which the largest extends westward and southward from Santa Maura or Amaxiki, the capital town." Leaf writes:¹ "The immediate neighbours of Ithaca, though all are hilly, have at least low lying plains, and can in one part or another be considered 'low.' But save for one little stretch on which the town of Vathy lies, Thiaki has not an acre of low ground; all round the hills rise straight and steep from the sea, not leaving even a strip of beach to carry a path." The above mentioned charts in Leaf's and Bérard's books should also be consulted on this point. The Encyclopaedia Britannica, describing Ithaca, says: "The island consists of two mountain masses, connected by a narrow isthmus of hills, and separated by a wide inlet of the sea known as the Gulf of Molo.² . . . As there are only one or two small stretches of arable land in Ithaca, the inhabitants are dependent on commerce for their grain supply; and olive oil, wine, and currants are the principal products obtained by the cultivation of the thin stratum of soil that covers the calcareous rocks. Goats are found in considerable numbers on the brushwood pasture of the hills." We have, therefore, in these two passages comparative statements by the poet as to the position and characteristics of his Ithaca in regard to the other islands, which, as applied to the facts, seem absolutely contradictory of each other. The first statement, that Ithaca was the most westerly, or perhaps northerly, of the four islands, fits Leucas only. The second, that Ithaca was the *least* fit of the four for driving horses, applies only to Thiaki.

As affirmations, there does not seem much to choose between these two propositions; but from the point of view of evidence merely, the second would appear to have the greater value. It is a well established rule in the construction of deeds that courses and distances are always controlled by the monuments referred to. Thus, if a lot of land is described as bounded northerly by a road, easterly by land of Jones, southerly by the Charles River, and westerly by land of Robinson, and it appears, in fact, that the land in question is bounded *southerly* by a road, westerly by land of Jones, northerly by the Charles River and easterly by land of Robinson, the Court would reject the compass directions and go by the natural landmarks. This procedure is founded on the well-known fact that mistakes are much more likely to

¹ *Homer and History*, p. 147.

occur in giving compass directions than in describing the monuments. Merely turning a plan upside down would create just such a mistake as above described, and is by no means an uncommon accident. Thiaki is conspicuously the least fit of the four islands for driving a chariot and horses. Such a characteristic is analogous to a monument in a deed. It is a characteristic landmark not likely to be lost sight of or misdescribed. Following the rules of law for the interpretation of a deed, we should be obliged to disregard the compass course in the description of Ithaca in favor of its well known physical characteristic.

If, however, we do not insist upon this distinction, and if we assume for the purposes of argument that the two statements are of equal probative value, it is obvious that the question of identification will then depend upon which of the two descriptions is best supported by the other evidence.

Telemachus's speech also contains this statement: 'In Ithaca there are no wide courses nor meadow land at all.' This assertion, also, is true in fact of Thiaki, but not of either of the other islands. Meadow land means level ground, often that through which a brook or stream flows. Thiaki has but one brook, a tiny stream in its northerly part, which flows through a gully into the harbor known as Port Frikes. The other two islands have brooks or streams flowing through plains.

Again, in Book 13, 242 ff., when Athena explains to Odysseus where he is, she says: 'Verily it is rough and not fit for the driving of horses, yet it is not a very sorry isle, though *narrow* withal.'¹ These words are a much more accurate description of Thiaki than of either of the other islands. Cephalonia could not possibly be called narrow; and Leucas, which Professor Manly says is 30 miles long and 10 wide, could hardly be called narrow except by a violent stretch of the imagination.

When the suitors find that Telemachus has succeeded in obtaining a ship and has gone to Pylos, they plan to waylay and kill him on his return; and for that purpose Antinous takes a ship and twenty oarsmen and goes to Asteris, which Homer, at the end of the Fourth Book, describes as follows: 'Now there is a rocky isle in the mid sea, midway between Ithaca and rugged Samos, Asteris, a little isle; and there

¹ Palmer translates these lines: 'It is a rugged land, not fit for driving horses, yet not so very poor though lacking plains.' This equally fits only Thiaki.

is a harbour therein with a double entrance, where ships may ride. There the Achaeans abode lying in wait for Telemachus.' In the beginning of the Fifteenth Book, Athena refers to this ambush in the strait; and, in Book 16, 348, Amphinomus, one of the suitors, while they were sitting before the hall of Odysseus and discussing the return of Telemachus's boat, looked up 'and saw the ship (the suitors' boat) within the deep harbor, and the men lowering the sails, and with the oars in their hands,' and says: 'Either some god has told them all or they themselves have seen the ship of Telemachus go by, and have not been able to catch her.' A little further on, Antinous says: 'All day long did scouts sit along the windy headlands, ever in quick succession, and at the going down of the sun we never rested for a night upon the shore, but sailing with our swift ship on the high seas we awaited the bright Dawn, as we lay in wait for Telemachus, that we might take and slay the man himself.' Bérard says that the Greek words above translated "double entrance" properly mean "Twin Havens," and Leaf¹ translates the passage in this way.

Now, of the only two islands situated between any two of the four larger islands, Daskalio, between Thiaki and Cephalonia, is a mere barren rock, without height, without havens, and without anything called for by the poet, except location. Arkudi, the other, as we shall see, fits the description better. Bérard believes that Daskalio is Asteris. His theory is that the poet drew his description of the voyages of Odysseus and Telemachus from some ancient periplus, or coast pilot, and that the brevity of description in such documents led the poet to think that the Twin Havens and windy heights referred to were in the island itself, while, in fact, they were on the large island, Cephalonia, adjoining; and he quotes, as it seems to me successfully, several examples from ancient periploi to show the possibility of such an error. He admits frankly that the island Daskalio has no such Twin Havens; but he finds them in Port Guiscardo in Cephalonia which is near by. The *Mediterranean Pilot*² describes it as follows: "Guiscardo Bay is a small bay in Ithaca Channel, about 2 miles southeastward of Cape Vlioto, the northwest point of the entrance. The bay is about 600 yards deep in a northwest direction and 200 yards wide in the narrowest part where a point projects from the

¹ *Homer and History*, p. 152.

² III, p. 477.

western side abreast the custom house, within which is a small inner harbor, with a depth of 8 fathoms, good holding ground, but limited space. . . . In westerly and northwesterly gales, vessels will find shelter in the bay in 11 to 14 fathoms with the lighthouse bearing about 5°, 300 yards; here there is room for a large ship to moor." Daskalio islet is $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles south of this lighthouse. This harbor does not seem to answer to the requirement of Twin Havens. A small inner and large outer harbor could hardly be so described.

On the other hand, Arkudi, which is just at the east entrance of the channel between Leucas and Thiaki, has at its southeastern corner a natural mole projecting southeastwardly about seventy yards, with a rocky knoll or islet at its outer end. The shore curves away in a similar fashion from each side of the shore end of the mole; and Professor Manatt, in his *Aegean Days*,¹ writes: "And now we are passing for the third time, as we are to pass it again on the morrow, the real Asteris — the key to the whole problem. In the wide channel (eighteen miles wide) between Ithaca and Leukas, Arkudi rises some 400 feet above the sea, a stony islet but sprinkled with olives and enlivened by a brook; and it is the only island lying between two larger ones in all this region. How Dörpfeld's heart throbbed when he first approached it and discovered the double harbor not unlike — to compare small things with great — the twin havens of Mitylene and still sheltering on occasion the small craft that do business in these waters. With *carte blanche* to invent an Asteris, one could hardly have hit it better." The width of this channel is given by Professor Manatt as eighteen miles, but this dimension is evidently wrong. The *Mediterranean Pilot*² says: "Cape Vlioti, the northern point of Cephalonia, lies southward 5 miles from Cape Dukato, the southern extremity of Santa Maura." And again it says;³ "Arkudi Island is separated from Lipso Point by a channel $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, and from Marmaka Point at the northern end of Ithaca by a passage 3 miles wide. Arkudi is nearly 2 miles in length north to south, 1 mile in width, and 441 feet high on its western side, the eastern part being flat." This would make the channel between Ithaca and Leucas at the most not over $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles wide, and rather disposes of the argument used by some authorities that it is too wide to be called a strait.

¹ P. 384.

² III, p. 476.

³ III, p. 459.

Bérard's identification of Asteris with Daskalio seems to be largely influenced by his opinion that the ancient sea-route to the Adriatic went from Pylos on the western coast of Greece via the channel between Thiaki and Cephalonia; and, on the basis of the chart only, this would seem most probable, as it is almost on the direct course. But the *Mediterranean Pilot*, says;¹ "Vessels under sail should not enter Ithaca Channel except with a fair wind, as the water is too deep for anchoring should it fall calm, and the currents are uncertain, and, at times, terrific squalls blow from the neighboring high lands." Bérard supplements this statement with various tales of old travelers being prevented for days at a time from getting through here in sailing vessels, and assumes that the ancient voyagers must have waited in the harbors at either end for a favoring chance, and then have gone through the twelve miles of the channel by rowing.² In the time of sailing vessels, he says³ the Venetians avoided this channel between Cephalonia and Ithaca on account of its tempests, pirates, and poor harbors; but that now it is used by the British, Austrian, and Italian steamships, just as it was used by the Cretan or Phoenician sailors in the time of the Odyssey. 'To-day, for the torpedo boats and little ships of war, Guiscardo will take the place which the city of Ulysses held. This city of Ulysses answered better the needs of the primitive mariners, who, using the oar, drew under the cover of Ithaca to ascend the channel against the winds of the north.' This theory evidently depends upon the proposition that, to pass by the southwestern promontory of Leucas, in sailing for Corfu from the south, the ancient mariners preferred the twelve mile row through the channel between Thiaki and Cephalonia, to the longer course to the eastward of Thiaki. Obviously, if they had to row, this would be the natural course; but, if on the contrary, by keeping to the eastward of the islands they could avoid this rowing and the squalls that blow from the mountains of the two islands, the latter course would be the more probable.

The *Mediterranean Pilot*⁴ says:

In settled summer weather, when the barometer is high . . . land and sea breezes prevail. The land wind blows from the mountains through the valleys and reaches a longer or shorter distance from the coast according to

¹ III, p. 477.

² *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, II, p. 417.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁴ III, pp. 417 ff.

the season, occasionally, but very rarely, 20 miles, though usually not beyond 10 miles. This wind is light, and in Epirus (north of Leucas) blows from north to northeast; in the Gulfs of Patras and Corinth, from northeast to east; on the coast of Arcadia, from north to northeast.

It commences to blow two or three hours after sunset and increases in force until after midnight, when it decreases, falls calm at sunrise, freshens again with the rising of the sun, veering some points eastward until 9 h. A.M., after which it dies away and is succeeded by the sea breeze.

The Imbatto, or sea breeze, sets in between west-southwest and northwest generally about 10 h. A.M., and at times an hour or two earlier, but rarely so late as noon. It increases in strength in the first two or three hours, attaining its maximum about 3 h. P.M., when it blows fresh and then gradually decreases in force and dies away an hour or two after sunset.

The prevailing wind in the offing in summer is from between west-southwest and northwest; it is general during the months of July and August, producing a clear sky and dry atmosphere in Greece, and varies in direction during the 24 hours, veering southward of its normal direction during the forenoon, and then by degrees to the northward of it, when it remains steady during the night.

The Tarantata. — As in winter during two or three days, so also in summer for 24 hours, a strong breeze from the northwest blows in the eastern part of the Ionian sea; it is called the Tarantata because it comes from the direction of the Gulf of Taranto. These strong winds or gales are of such force that small craft have to bear up before them.

The Sirocco, or southeasterly wind, predominates in November and December and in February and March. . . . During August and at times also during July this wind gives place to the dry Sirocco, a moderate wind without rain. . . . This Sirocco is more easterly during the morning, more southerly in the afternoon, and at times during the night veers to southwest; its force in the daytime is then always greater than at night."

Again, at page 473 — Dioni Bay:

The British man-of-war *Goldfinch*, during the survey in this vicinity, when resorting to this anchorage on several occasions, found a heavy-breaking swell to quickly rise with westerly and northwesterly winds in a depth of 12 fathoms, Makri Island affording but little shelter. These winds, of moderate strength, may be expected in the summer season to set in daily by mid-day, continuing till near midnight.

Makri Island is off the coast of Acarnania, just north of Oxia Island, and the last quotation would seem to imply that in summer the prevailing sea breeze off this coast during the day was from west to northwest. Oxia Island is at the entrance of the Gulf of Patras, and if the

night or land breeze in this gulf is northeast to east, it would seem to imply that the land breeze extended out beyond the island; but it is not clear how far north this direction might prevail.

Assuming that Bérard's description of the boats in use in the time of the Achaeans is correct, they must have been similar in build to the Nydam boat. This boat, found in a bog near Slesvig, Southern Jutland, was in shape much like a modern whale boat. Its length was about 75 feet, its beam $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It held 14 benches and was rowed with 28 oars, the average length of which was twelve feet. The bottom plank, which is not a keel proper, is 45 feet 3 inches long, and of a single piece. The mast was stepped about midship, and the sail was a square sail, with yard. Such boats could obviously not make to windward. The best course would be before the wind, or with wind over the quarter; but they probably would sail fairly well with wind nearly abeam. Even a dory, which would have less hold on the water, will sail fairly well without its centerboard with wind nearly abeam.

Pylos, the southern end of the Adriatic sea-route, according to Bérard, is located on the shore of the Gulf of Arcadia on the west coast of Greece at about the center of the Gulf. The course from here to the next Cape north, Katakolo, or Cape Pheae as called by the poet, is about northwest by west. From there to Cape Trepito, it is about northwest, hence to Oxia Island about north, and from Oxia to Arkudi Island about northwest.

In the *Mediterranean Pilot*,¹ it is said: "Southward of the Adriatic the winds are less variable, and in fine summer weather, and often in winter, land and sea breezes are usual. The prevailing summer wind is between west-southwest and northwest, and belongs to that atmospheric column which traverses the whole length of the Mediterranean from the Strait of Gibraltar to the coast of Palestine, backing southward of its normal direction during the day and veering northward of it at night." Bérard's theory is that the ancient trade routes from the East to the Adriatic and the West came up the Laconian Gulf, crossed by a land route to Pylos, then reshipped and went on. It seems reasonable to suppose that, if the ancient mariners could not have left Pylos under sail, they would have selected some other port for the terminus of their land route which would have permitted it. We

¹ III, p. 37.

may assume, therefore, that the ordinary summer breezes were such that they could leave the vicinity of Pylos under sail. If they could fetch Cape Pheae with the ordinary summer breezes there would seem no difficulty in at least reaching the vicinity of Oxia in the daytime. From here on the night breeze would probably be more favorable, but the evidence given in the *Mediterranean Pilot* is not conclusive. We have, however, on this question other evidence.

Bérard's further theory is that the voyages of Telemachus and Odysseus are based on the facts as stated in an ancient periplus, and that all the incidents are taken from such a document. On this theory, we have the right to assume that all the particulars of the return voyage of Telemachus followed the course of the ancient trade-route, at least so far as it did not have to divert from that route to satisfy the story. In going back to Ithaca, Telemachus would, therefore, follow the old trade-route until diversion was necessary. The poet describes the events of this return voyage as follows.

In Book 15, 28 ff., Athena tells Telemachus:

The noblest of the wooers lie in wait for thee of purpose, in the strait between Ithaca and rugged Samos, eager to slay thee before thou come to thine own country. But this, methinks, will never be; yea, sooner shall the earth close over certain of the wooers that devour thy livelihood. Nay, keep thy well-wrought ship far from those isles, and sail by night as well as by day, and he of the immortals who hath thee in his keeping and protection will send thee a fair breeze in thy wake. But when thou hast touched the nearest shore of Ithaca, send thy ship and all thy company forward to the city, but for thy part seek first the swineherd. . . .

Telemachus immediately sets out from Sparta, spends the first night at Pherae, and at some time during the next day reaches Pylos. He proceeds promptly to embark:

They raised the mast of pine tree, and set it in the hole of the cross plank and made it fast with forestays, and hauled up the white sails with twisted ropes of ox-hide. And grey eyed Athena sent them a favoring breeze, rushing violently through the clear sky¹ that the ship might speedily finish her course over the salt water of the sea. So they passed by Crouni and Chalcis, a land of fair streams.

¹ Compare this expression, 'clear sky,' with the description of the general breezes in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, III, p. 418.

And the sun set and all the ways were darkened. And the vessel drew nigh to Pheae, being sped before the breeze of Zeus, and then passed goodly Elis where the Epeans bear rule. From thence he drave on again to the Pointed Isles,¹ pondering whether he should escape death or be cut off.

The poem then goes back to Odysseus, and when we next return to Telemachus he is landing in Ithaca as morning breaks, but we are not informed how he reached land.

Now, on Bérard's theory, two things are noticeable: first, the injunction of the goddess to keep far from the islands and to sail by night as well as by day; second, the course for the Pointed Isles after passing Elis. The chart shows that there are no islands between Thiaki and Pylos to keep away from, except Zante and Cephalonia. We have already seen that in the reply of Telemachus to Menelaus's offer of a chariot and horses, the reference to the islands probably means the four large islands which compose the group. It seems reasonable to believe that this speech of the goddess, if Bérard's theory is right, is a repetition of the sailing directions for the coast navigation, and therefore points to a course to the eastward of the islands, that is, outside of the channel between Thiaki and Cephalonia.

The Pointed Rocks referred to in the last course are most probably the mountain peaks of Oxia and the neighboring islets. In the *Mediterranean Pilot*, under title "Oxia Island," we read:² "The peak of Oxia, with Mount Kutzulari, form excellent marks for the Gulf of Patras"; and again:³ "At night, after losing sight of Oxia Light, Oxia Peak, Makri Peak, Vromona Island, Stamothi Island and the summits of Petala Island are usually noticeable; it is difficult to recognize the other islands from any distance." Telemachus was sailing by night when he headed for the Pointed Rocks. The landmarks above named are all islands close to the Acarnanian coast and grouped about the mouth of the River Achelous, and were known to the Greeks as the Echinades Islands, Oxia being the most southerly, and by far the highest. Leaf,⁴ after quoting their description from the *Mediterranean Pilot*, speaks of them as "this poor cluster of Rocks."

¹ Palmer translates this line, 'From here Telemachus steered for the Pointed Isles.'

² III, p. 475.

³ III, p. 473.

⁴ *Homer and History*, p. 165.

The peaks on them are, however, quite high. That on Oxia is given by the *Mediterranean Pilot* as 1380 feet; Makri Hill, 417 feet; Vromona Island about 500 feet; Stamothi Island 229 feet; and Petala Island 832 feet. The name, 'Pointed Rocks,' would seem peculiarly applicable. Telemachus, therefore, was probably sailing in the direction of this group. Bérard says, as it seems to me truly, that sailors of old would use the same marks, and follow the same directions as our sailors of to-day. Shewan thinks these same islands were meant by the expression 'Pointed Rocks.' He says that the modern name of Oxia is derived from the same word used by Homer and translated 'Pointed,' and that, in fact, these islands are the only landmarks that correspond with the expression 'Pointed Rocks.' The advice given to Telemachus, to sail by night as well as by day, also seems to confirm this interpretation. To judge from the directions in the *Mediterranean Pilot*, the course from near Oxia to Arkudi would be more likely to have a fair wind by night than by day. The return voyage of Telemachus, therefore, fits in with the theory that the course of the ancient mariners lay to the eastward of Thiaki, and that Arkudi was the Homeric Asteris. So far as the story is concerned, however, the course pursued by Telemachus as above suggested is, perhaps, the natural one, if he turned off before the Pointed Rocks were actually reached.

Bérard's theory that the Montague Rocks were the Pointed Isles does not seem sound. According to the *Mediterranean Pilot*, they are a shoal in the channel between Zante and the mainland; but the shoalest rock is given in the *Mediterranean Pilot* as more than fifteen feet under water, and could not possibly form a mark to steer by or for; nor would the Montague Rocks seem to be especially dangerous to the shoal draft boats of the ancient mariners. Bérard points out that since the ancient boats were open and without sleeping or cooking accommodations, ports or resting places, where the crews could go ashore for cooking and sleeping purposes at the end of a day's run, were of great value and use. For such ports and their trading stations, they preferred coastal islands, or islets, with a good hill to watch from, a haven, a water supply, a cavern in which to take refuge, and woods for repair work. Coastal islands were preferred as less likely to attack by natives, small islands to big ones, and, failing such, rocky peninsulas of a similar character connected with the shore in such a way

that the isthmus might be easily defended. Deep, close harbors were objectionable as more difficult to enter and leave, on account of adverse winds, and more dangerous on account of the greater liability to attack. This was true, he thinks, so long as the mariners were traders merely. When they became colonists also, the deep ports were chosen, because the colonists controlled the surrounding country. These considerations are supported by him with such a wealth of examples from ancient and modern history and other sources, and, indeed, are so obvious that it is not necessary to quote him at length.

Now Arkudi seems to be well adapted for just such a stopping place for the commerce of Homeric times. Corfu is now, and has always been, the great point of vantage to hold for the Adriatic trade. Here Bérard is most full. Arkudi is about the half-way mark between Corfu and Pylos. Telemachus goes and returns from Pylos in about half a full day each way. Therefore, Arkudi is within about a twelve hour sail. It has the necessary havens, water-supply, and hill for a watch tower. It is well removed from the land. The mole above referred to with its little island knob would be a perfect shelter from all southerly gales. From the west and northwest the island would protect. On the northeast, Meganisi extends its long spur clear across this direction about three or four miles off. There is nothing, however, to indicate northeast gales here in the summer. If there were one, it would be easy to launch the boats and take the other side of the mole. The situation of the island is such that it commands a view of the sea out past Cape Dukato and south to Elis. It appears to be the only small island so situated.

On the other hand, the havens, the water-supply, the watch-tower of Daskalio were all on Cephalonia, and all objectionable from liability to attack by the people in possession of the island. For the Achaeans, masters of both islands, Daskalio might have a use; but for traders merely, not masters of the islands, it would not compare with Arkudi.

There is another argument, however, in favor of Daskalio which remains to be considered. On the west side of Thiaki just opposite Daskalio, there is a good harbor known as the Bay of Polis. On the east side of the island just opposite it, is Port Frikes, and there is a brook running into this port, which is the only brook to-day on the island; in the time of Sir William Gell, who described the island from

a personal visit, a little after 1800, it was the principal brook in the island. There is an easy pass between the two ports. In Book 1 of the *Odyssey*, Athena, disguised as a trader, tells Telemachus that she has left her ship in Port Rheithron, under wooded Neïon away from the city. In Book 3, Telemachus tells Nestor that Ithaca, the town, is under the same mountain. According to Bérard, Rheithron means the harbor with a brook. If so, it should be identical with Port Frikes. In that case the most probable site for the Homeric city would be at Polis Bay.

Now, if the ordinary route from Elis to the Bay of Polis was via the channel between Thiaki and Cephalonia, an ambush on Arkudi, which does not command a view of this channel, would be useless. If the ordinary route back was by a course to the eastward of Thiaki and round its northerly end, then Arkudi would be the natural ambush. It is obvious that to return by a course to the eastward of Thiaki, round its northern end and some three miles down the Ithaca Channel is much longer than straight back up the channel. The Homeric boats could be rowed. It is not perfectly certain that by keeping to the eastward of Thiaki they could sail all the way. The probability that the longer route was on the whole the easier, seems distinctly less than for the general trade route. If we knew for certain that by the longer route the crew would escape a long, hard row, it is certainly likely that the longer route would be the favorite, and there is nothing positive to show that this was not so.

There is also one point in the story which is not probable on the theory that Daskalio was the site of the ambush. Telemachus lands early in the morning. He at once sends his boat and crew to the city. As soon as they land and haul up their ship, they send a herald to tell Penelope, who reaches the Hall at the same time as Eumaeus. The herald delivers his message in the hall. The suitors hear it and are troubled. They go out to plan together. Their first thought is to send a message by boat to the watchers to return; but even as this is suggested they look up and see their friends' boat entering the harbor. Amphinomus then exclaims that there is no need. 'Either some god has told them all or they themselves have seen the ship of Telemachus go by, and have not been able to catch her.' When the watchers return, they relate how they kept watch by day, and patrolled

the 'high seas' by night, 'but meanwhile some god has brought him home.' This talk seems to imply that they did not see the ship go by.

Now, if the ambush was in Daskalio and the Homeric City was at the Bay of Polis, this narrative is not probable. Daskalio was about a mile from the Bay of Polis, and, according to the *Mediterranean Pilot*,¹ just opposite the Bay. The whole course of the channel was visible from it. The boat of Telemachus must have been easily seen for a number of miles. If Homer had thought of Asteris as an island in the Ithaca Channel just off the entrance to the city's harbor, he would certainly at the very least have brought the two boats in together. The fact that he did not, but suggests quite strongly that the watchers, while they kept good watch, never saw the boat of Telemachus at all, although it returned in open day, would seem to indicate very clearly that Daskalio was not Asteris.

If, on the other hand, we assume that the ordinary course from Pylos to the Homeric City was by the route to the eastward of Thiaki, the whole story of the return is very realistic. In those rude times, Telemachus would naturally expect an ambush on his way back. The warning of the goddess was merely a poetic way of expressing this. If the ordinary course was east of Thiaki, Arkudi, commanding the first narrower channel on that route, was the natural spot to expect it. It might also be located at Daskalio, which commanded the entrance to the harbor. He would escape both by landing at the south end of Ithaca. His crew was not at all likely to be attacked, and for them there was no danger. But if the ambush was in Daskalio, from whichever end of the Ithaca channel the boat approached the city, the boat would have been seen and stopped. That it was not, indicates that the Homeric Asteris was Arkudi, as otherwise there was no reasonable chance that the boat could have got by without being seen and searched.

On the whole, therefore, the location of the Homeric city at the Bay of Polis does not seem to be inconsistent with the location of the general trade-route to the eastward of Thiaki and the identification of Asteris with Arkudi.

The story of Mentès further confirms this. Sailing with a cargo of iron from Taphos to Temesa, he had stopped off to see Odysseus.

¹ III, p. 479.

Leaf identifies Taphos with Corfu, or Corcyra, and Temesa with a place in the island of Cyprus. Mentès was, according to this supposition, on the trade-route from the north of Ithaca southward. Now, if the Homeric City was on the Bay of Polis, and the trade-route was via the Ithaca channel, why did he not enter the city harbor? He says he did not, but left his ship in the harbor named Rheithron beneath the same mountain as the city. In this case it can only be Port Frikes, on the east side of the island. If the trade-route ran north and east of Thiaki, this was, in fact, the only port for him to make. If the trade-route ran by the channel, then we must resort to the improbable assumption that he was afraid to leave his ship in the city harbor.

The identification of Asteris with Arkudi is also confirmed by another incident. Odysseus, answering the question of Eumæus as to how he reached Ithaca, concludes his narrative by telling him that the King of the Thesprotians sent him in one of their ships, just then starting for Dulichium, with orders to bring him to King Acastus; that the Thesprotians, after reaching the high sea, stripped him of his clothes and planned to sell him into slavery; that, reaching Ithaca in the evening, they bound him with a rope and went ashore themselves to take supper by the seashore, and that he slipped his bonds, swam ashore and hid in the woods, and so escaped them. Eumæus receives this explanation without question; and we must infer, therefore, that the poet meant it to be accepted as a reasonable incident. Now, the hut of Eumæus was in the southern end of Ithaca. The poet expressly tells us that it was in one end of the island. He also tells us that Telemachus (who had been told by the goddess to land on the nearest shore of Ithaca) reached land at daybreak, breakfasted with his crew, then sought Eumæus, whom he finds at breakfast with Odysseus. We are also told that Eumæus and Odysseus were making ready their breakfast at dawn when Telemachus joined them. It follows, therefore, that Telemachus must have landed within easy reach of the swineherd's hut. The topography of the south end of Thiaki suits this narrative. The *Mediterranean Pilot* describes two ports in the southern part of Thiaki, both still used by coasters: one, the Port of St. Andrea, on the southern shore, at its westerly end; the other, Port Lia, or Ligia, on the eastern shore, at its southerly end;

both near the cliff and spring identified as Raven Rock and the spring Arethusa. Bérard has given such a full description of this part of Ithaca and the identification seems so reasonable that repetition is unnecessary.

Odysseus does not say specifically where the Thesprotians landed, but the shores of Thiaki are so steep and rocky that it is not possible for sailors to go ashore everywhere. They must have sought some of the ports or landing places which small boats still use. The other ports of Thiaki, except Opis Aito, lie on the south shores of the Gulf of Molo, or in the northern part of the island. The poet does not say that Odysseus did not land in the northern part of the island, but, if he did, he would have doubtless met other Ithacans first, and the context seems to imply that the hut of Eumaeus was the first refuge he found.¹ It seems more probable, therefore, that the poet conceived of the landing as somewhere near Eumaeus's residence, and, if so, it must have been in one or the other of these ports, or possibly in Opis Aito. Now, the ship was bound for Dulichium, and it also is reasonable to infer that one or the other of these ports was not far distant from its natural course. No one would believe to-day that sailors would make an unnecessarily long detour for the sake of supping on shore, and there is no reason to suppose that the men of Homer's time would look at the matter differently. It follows, therefore, that the trade-route to Dulichium, or at least to part of Dulichium, lay near the southern shore of Ithaca.

If the island Asteris is the rocky islet called Daskalio, in the strait between Cephalonia and Thiaki, then one island is Same, the other Ithaca. Leucas must then be Dulichium. Thesprotia is north of Leucas. On the assumption that Thiaki is the Homeric Ithaca, it is evident, from the chart, that the sea-route from Thesprotia to some port or any port in Leucas does not pass near, or anywhere near, the southern end of Thiaki. As a matter of fact, it would make the sailors take an entirely unnecessary trip of some thirty or forty miles. It is five or six miles from Cape Dukato to the northern point of Ithaca, and thirteen miles from there to its southern end. As the

¹ In Book 17, 516, Eumaeus says 'He came to me at once on escaping from his vessel'; and in 573, Odysseus says 'because it was of you I first sought aid.' (Palmer's Trans.)

ship would have to go at least as far back, the whole journey would be thirty-four or thirty-six miles in a straight line. Neither modern nor Homeric coasters would depart so far from their course merely to go ashore for supper. The same reasoning would apply, though less forcibly, to a landing anywhere on Thiaki.

If, on the other hand, Arkudi is Asteris, Cephalonia must be Dulichium. One of the two best harbors in Cephalonia is the Bay of Samos, just opposite the southern end of Thiaki. The sea-route from Thesprotia to the Bay of Samos would be either through the channel between this island and Thiaki, or round Thiaki by the easterly route. The first route would pass within a mile or two of Port Andrea, and would also pass the harbor of Opis Aito, — “a small bay with a sandy beach on the western shore of Ithaca $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles northward of St. Andrea Point.”¹ If it went round Ithaca by its east side, it would pass both Port Ligia and Port Andrea. It would be perfectly natural for a coaster on either route to stop in one or the other of these places for supper.

If Asteris is Arkudi, the story of Odysseus is perfectly reasonable on the basis of the geographic facts. If Asteris is Daskalio, it is not reasonable. If Asteris is Arkudi, it does not follow from this fact alone that Leucas is the Homeric Ithaca. All that the description in the poem requires is that the island shall be in the strait between Same and Ithaca. So far as this fact goes, it is equally true whether Thiaki is Ithaca, and Leucas Same, or vice versa. The question which of the two is Ithaca must depend on other evidence.

Now, the identification of Ithaca with Leucas raises a very serious difficulty in the story of the ambush. We have already seen that the last place before Ithaca which the poet mentions in his account of the return of Telemachus is the Pointed Rocks, and that these are probably the peaks of the Echinades Islands. To sail from this point, or its neighborhood, to the south end of Leucas, Telemachus would have to pass close by the ambush on Asteris. On the other hand, his home, on the Leucadian theory, was at Port Vlichos, on the east side of Leucas, north of Meganisi. The chart shows clearly that to avoid this ambush, the best course would be to keep east and north of Meganisi, and so go straight home. Telemachus was either a fool of a seaman, or

¹ *Mediterranean Pilot*, III, p. 479.

the poet was not well-versed in geography. On the other hand, if Thiaki is Ithaca, the course is perfectly reasonable. Unless he went clear to Ochia and sailed across in the light of day, the suitors were not likely to catch him.

So, also, with the story of Odysseus. Why should the Thesprotian sailors go out of their way to skirt Leucas for some miles to reach a stopping place for supper, when they must have known there were other stopping places close to their course? It is not probable.¹

The identification of Asteris with Arkudi accomplishes two things. It proves beyond question that Cephalonia was the Homeric Dulichium. Taken in connection with the actual facts, it renders it probable that, in Homer's mind, Thiaki was Ithaca, and Leucas was Same.

In the opening lines of the Twenty-fourth Book of the *Odyssey*, Hermes leads the souls of the suitors from the hall: 'Past the streams of Oceanus and the White Rock, past the gates of the Sun they sped and the land of dreams, and soon they came to the mead of asphodel where dwell the souls, the phantoms of men outworn.' This passage is regarded by both Manly and Shewan as inconsistent with the identification of Ithaca with Leucas. Both writers identify the White Rock with the great marble bluff that makes the southwestern promontory of Leucas. This theory seems most probable, and if we believe that the poet was thinking of the coast line as running east and west, and the course of the souls as westward, it necessarily implies that Ithaca lay to the eastward of this promontory, and excludes Leucas from identification as Ithaca. But it is by no means certain from what the poet says that the flight of the souls was due westerly. They might have started from the palace of Odysseus and flown over the sea down the eastern side of Leucas, rounded the promontory, and so to their place. If this was the course of navigation from the east side of Leucas, such a direction for their flight might not be improbable. It is doubtless more probable that the poet and his hearers would think of the flight of the souls of the suitors as straight to the realms of the departed, but, in the absence of express statement, this explanation cannot be regarded as conclusive.

¹ Of course, if the trade-route from the north ran between Leucas and the mainland, this argument would be valueless. But the reference to the White Rock in Book 24 would indicate that the trade-route ran by it.

Odysseus in the speech of Book 9, above quoted, says, 'Now Ithaca lies low.' Leaf thinks that *χθαμαλή*, which is here translated 'low,' means near the land, and quotes a modern Greek use of a similar word in that sense. From this he argues that the Homeric Ithaca must be Leucas, which is the only one of the four islands that is near the land. The difficulties with this argument are that it all depends upon the meaning of *χθαμαλή* and that the meaning 'near the land' in Homer's time is not established by modern usage. The most that may be inferred is that the word might bear such meaning. As a matter of fact, we shall see later that a perfectly rational interpretation of the passage may be had without departing from the ordinary meaning of the word, and if so, this evidence is of no value in deciding between the two islands. A conclusion based on uncertain evidence is of no value against positive testimony. It is like an attempt to prove handwriting by disputed specimens, which no court would ever permit.

Leaf's argument that it would have been impracticable for Odysseus to have kept his herds in Elis if he lived in Thiaki, owing to the difficulties of transport, but that if his home was in Leucas it would have been a simple proposition to have ferried them over the shallow lagoon in a flat punt, does not seem to fit the facts. There is no mention of flat-bottom punts in the poem. On the other hand, Noemon, a resident of Ithaca, inquires of the suitors when Telemachus will return, as, he says, he wants his ship to go to Elis where he has a herd of twelve brood mares with mule colts, one of which he would like to get to train.¹ And, in Book 21, 20, we read, 'for the men of Messene had lifted three hundred sheep in benched ships from out of Ithaca.' Among the seal stones of Crete there is one with an impression of a ship like the Homeric vessels carrying a living horse. There can be no question, therefore, that the transport of live-stock from Elis to Thiaki was entirely possible and practicable.

Bérard says that the west coast of Peloponnesus was famous from antiquity for its herds. Homer calls Elis 'the pastureland of horses.'

In Book 20, 187, we read: 'Moreover a third man came up, Philoetius, a master of men, leading a barren heifer for the wooers and fatted goats. Now ferrymen had brought them over from the mainland, boatmen who send even other folks on their way, whoso-

¹ *Od.* 4, 636.

ever comes to them.' This passage would indicate that the herds of Odysseus were on the mainland and that there was a regular trade-route from their neighborhood to Ithaca. Such a route, we know, existed from Elis,¹ but not, according to what knowledge we have, from Acarnania. So far as the positive evidence of the poem is concerned, it points to Elis as the pasture-land of the Ithacans. To assume without any evidence that Acarnania was this pasture-land, and then that Leucas, because it was nearer to this main land, was the Homeric Ithaca, is an unwarranted procedure. We may dismiss, in a similar way, the Dörpfeldian theory of the telescoping of the islands, as set forth in Leaf's book. Let us assume it to be true that the Dorian invasion did overrun the island Leucas and drive out the Achaeans there. This does not prove that these dispossessed Achaeans invaded Thiaki, drove out their kindred there, and renamed the island. The facts given in the poem distinctly contradict such an assumption. Ithaca furnished only twelve suitors, Same, twenty-four; Same was, therefore, in all probability the more populous. To hold that the smaller population could first be harried by the Dorians, then attack their more numerous brothers and dispossess them so completely as to rename their island, is contrary to reason. If the assumed Dorian invasion and the town name of Samos in Cephalonia prove anything, they prove merely that the northern island was called Same. It is distinctly more probable that the dispossessed Achaeans sought refuge peaceably among their brothers on the largest island, than that a smaller and decimated population made such a successful attack on their own more numerous kindred as to drive them entirely from their original homes. If the town Samos in Cephalonia was founded by dispossessed Achaeans, who gave it the name of their island home, it is distinctly more probable that there was but a single migration, and that the Same they came from was Leucas, not Thiaki.

Shewan remarks very justly that rocks, caves, springs, and havens are too plentiful in all these islands to afford very important evidence

¹ In Book 13, 271-275, Odysseus says: 'So after I had slain him with my brazen pointed spear, I straightway sought a ship, asked aid of the proud Phoenicians, and gave them from my booty what they wished. I bade them take me on their ship and set me down at Pylos or else at Sacred Elis where the Epeians rule.' (Trans. by Palmer.)

as to identification; but it is also true that no such identification is possible unless the natural features comply with the descriptions in the poem.

As a matter of fact, there seems to be no reasonable doubt that the topography of Thiaki does fit the narrative. The poet mentions three harbors besides the place where Telemachus lands. Thiaki has such harbors all rationally placed to suit the narrative. Port Frikes is the only harbor with a brook, and might well have received, therefore, the name of Rheithron, or Brook Harbor. In that case the Bay of Polis on the west coast of the island is situated in entire conformity to the narrative. Eduard Engel, who has himself seen all the places, says the ruins there are Mycenaean.¹ Shewan says that the expression 'deep harbor' suits the Bay of Polis but not Port Vlichos in Leucas, where Dörpfeld locates his Homeric city. Port Vathy, a land-locked harbor on the south side of the Gulf of Molo, answers very well to Phorcys Haven. Manatt writes of it as perfectly answering the poet's description, and Engel says there is not another harbor in all Greece which is so calm. The fact that there is no suitable cave to serve as the grotto of the Naiads may well be because the poet has allowed his imagination some play in this respect. At the south end of the island there is another small harbor called Port Andrea, from which there is an easy and short passage to the plateau above the striking cliff and the spring at the southeastern end of the island. This cliff, Bérard says,² is twenty or thirty metres high. From it a rocky valley descends to Port Ligia, and part way down is a spring of never-failing water to which the peasants still come to draw their supplies. Such a cliff and spring near a small harbor may well have been given a special name, and the plateau above the cliff is suitably situated for the hut of Eumaeus. Manly thinks this region is too far from Polis Bay for the location of the town of Ithaca; but here again the poet may well have overlooked the difficulty of driving pigs that distance. Manly apparently finds no difficulty in identifying the various localities mentioned in the poem with suitable localities on the island Thiaki, and Eduard Engel declares positively³ that Ithaca,

¹ *Der Wohnsitz des Odysseus*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 25.

² *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, II, p. 514.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

by which name he calls Thiaki, furnishes all the places called for by the poet's narrative and Leucas none of them.

Neither Leaf nor Seymour, the two writers in English who believe that Leucas is the Homeric Ithaca, gives any detailed description of its topography. It seems reasonable to infer that there is nothing in that topography which suits the poet's narrative better than the topography of Thiaki. Indeed, it is difficult, if not impossible, to see how it could be otherwise. The poet does not give any detailed descriptions of any of the particular places on Ithaca which he mentions, and without positive earmarks nothing more can be shown than that Leucas fits the narrative in this respect as well as Ithaca. Even if this possibility is admitted to be a certainty, it proves no more than that either island might be the right one. Nothing, therefore, is to be gained by a detailed study of the topography of Leucas.

If Thiaki is the Homeric Ithaca, and Arkudi Asteris, Cephalonia must be Dulichium, and Leucas Same.

A strong confirmation of this identification is to be found in the number of the suitors. Homer tells us they comprised the princes of all the first families in the four islands, and he gives their numbers as 52 from Dulichium, 24 from Same, 20 from Zacynthus, and 12 from Ithaca. These are peculiar numbers, and it may be inferred that they are not mere fiction, but represent some historical tradition as to the actual Achæan kinglets who had settled in the several islands. In Book 1, 393, we read, 'Howsoever there are many other kings of the Achæans in sea-girt Ithaca, kings young and old'; and what was true of Ithaca undoubtedly applied to the other islands. In Book 24, 140, Antinous, one of the suitors, is called 'King Antinous.' Leaf describes the Achæans as a ruling race, with a native population subject to them. A natural conclusion would be that the number of Achæan kinglets who settled in each of the several isles was more or less determined by the extent of its native population. Now, there is a very interesting parallel between the modern population of these islands and the respective number of suitors. If we take Cephalonia as the unit and adopt the identification suggested, we have the following comparisons:

	<i>Modern Population</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Suitors</i>	<i>%</i>
Cephalonia } Dulichium }	about 71,000	100	52	100
Leucas } Same }	30,000	42	24	46
Thiaki } Ithaca }	13,000	18	12	23
Zante } Zacynthus }	42,500	60	20	40

Zacynthus is always described as 'wooded Zacynthus.' Forested areas were always more sparsely populated in primitive times, on account of the difficulty of clearing lands, and the island to-day, therefore, may well contain a comparatively larger population than it did in Homer's time. But the close agreement between the relative populations in the other islands with the number of suitors is striking. The actual percentages are very close.

If it were not, then, for the passage in the Ninth Book, the case would seem very clear. The positive statement that it was least fit of all islands for driving horses is absolutely exclusive. The other characteristics as mentioned by the poet equally suit the historic Ithaca. The island suits the narrative in all other details, and it is the only island that fits it. It is not credible that the poet consciously drew a description of another island from a different source and used it in his poem. The majority of the writers referred to, who favor the historic Ithaca, explain this passage in the Ninth Book by excluding Leucas from the group. This does not seem consistent with the poem or the facts of geography. The question, therefore, is: can any explanation of this passage be found which is consistent with the rest of the evidence and with a fair interpretation of the passage itself? It seems to me that such an explanation is possible, and it remains now to consider it.

First, the intrinsic difference is to be noted between the description of Ithaca as drawn by Telemachus in Book 4 and that by Odysseus in Book 9. Telemachus tells us only about the physical features of the island. It has no meadow lands. It is a pasture land for goats. It is not fit for driving horses. In Book 13, Athena describes it in very similar language. Odysseus, on the other hand, in Book 9, describes the island like one viewing it from the outside and apparently

at a distance. It is clear-seen. It has a mountain standing manifest to view. There are many islands about it. The island lies low and farthest to the west, the other islands lie to the eastward. The description of Telemachus is that of an inhabitant of the island. The description of Odysseus is that of a seaman viewing the island from the distance. Telemachus in Book 3 tells Nestor, 'We have come forth out of Ithaca that is below Neïon,' but, in Book 9, Odysseus says, 'And I dwell in clear-seen Ithaca, wherein is a mountain Neriton, with trembling forest leaves, standing manifest to view.' Why should father and son name different mountains as the sign-posts of their common home? There is only one adequate explanation. The poet was taking his descriptions from previously existing material, using one source for the speech of Telemachus, and another for that of Odysseus.

As the description in Book 9 stands, it does not in fact fit either Leucas or Thiaki. Thiaki is certainly not the most westerly or north-westerly. There are not many islands lying around Leucas. There are, however, a number of islands stretching from the northerly end of Thiaki past its southerly end, and they all lie to the dawn and the sun from it. Zacynthus also seems dragged in. It certainly cannot be said to lie round Leucas, and it is practically separated from Thiaki by the great island of Cephalonia. 'Many islands lie around very near one to the other.' This is true of the group of islands east of Thiaki, but it does not seem true if the four large islands are included in this group. There is a considerable space of sea between them and Thiaki and still more between them and the other large islands. This certainly does not look like a geographic description. Indeed there is no reason to expect any such thing. What we should expect is obviously a description of the appearance of the island Ithaca as seen by an observer from some point of view, and I believe that this is exactly what we have in this passage.

The first question is from what point of view the observation was taken. The answer appears reasonably evident from the description itself. The island is said to lie farthest up in the sea toward the west. Whether *ζόφος* means our west or the quarter between our west and our north, it is probable that the observer must have been stationed somewhere in the quarter between east and south, as it is only from

such a position that he could have seen all the details noted. It is also evident that the observation point must have been in the far distance. The poet says the island lies low. As a matter of fact, each of the islands is high. The mountains in Thiaki, the lowest of the group, are each over 2000 feet high. But high land seen at a sufficient distance *looks* low. Low on the horizon is a common description of land seen from a ship in the far distance. Any one of the islands might well be described as lying low if seen sufficiently far off.

There is also another expression used in this description which, it seems to me, fixes the probable position of the point of view, and that is the expression 'clear-seen.' Bérard says,¹ quoting W. Helbig: "The Homeric epithets translate the essential quality of the object they characterize. They never resort to the secondary qualities, but only those which strike the eye vividly and give the object a peculiar character." Now 'clear-seen' in its ordinary sense is not an epithet which comes within this rule. There does not seem to be any essential difference in the visibility of any of the islands, as seen generally from a distance. They are all high and are all conspicuous. If anything, Leucas would be the least conspicuous from some point to the south-eastward, and Cephalonia the most conspicuous, but this difference would seem hardly to justify the use of the epithet. There is, however, one place in this southeastern quadrant where this epithet might have been employed with entire agreement with the poet's usage in regard to epithets of places, and that is in the neighborhood of Cape Trepito, the most westerly cape of Peloponnesus. If we draw a line on the chart from the tip of the Cape next southerly to Cape Trepito, just touching the latter, and prolong it northerly, Thiaki will lie well to the east of it. Therefore, a vessel sailing northerly along the coast would not sight Thiaki until about off Cape Trepito. The southerly mountain on Ithaca is 2135 feet high according to the United States chart. Its distance from Cape Trepito scales about 40 miles. The curvature of the earth causes objects to disappear below the horizon at the rate of 8 inches multiplied by the square of the distance in miles. Therefore, Thiaki would appear from the low deck of a Homeric boat off Cape Trepito only about 1000 feet high; from a point five miles further south only about 800 feet high. From this

¹ *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, I, p. 150.

last point it could only be seen over the land, and a height of about 100 feet a little inland from Cape Trepito would entirely obscure it. The *Mediterranean Pilot* does not give the height of this Cape, but it remarks ¹ that the shore north of it is clifty and is backed by high land, and the chart shows hills ranging along this shore. It seems almost certain, therefore, that Thiaki could not be seen till the boat was off Cape Trepito. Once by the Cape, there is nothing to interfere with the view, and with a height of 1000 feet above the horizon the island would be clearly seen.

We have also noted that the trade route north from Pylos probably coasted the shore till, at some point off the coast of Elis, the course changed and ran for the Pointed Rocks, probably the peak of Oxia. Now a further inspection of the chart indicates the neighborhood of Cape Trepito as being the point where this change would be made, since, from this point, there is a clear course for Oxia. A modern seaman would undoubtedly change his course for the island, if that were his next landmark, as soon as the way was clear; and ancient seamen would undoubtedly do the same.

Ancient commerce was a coasting trade, and in coasting easily recognized landmarks are of great value and will be kept in the memory for use. If Thiaki was the ancient Ithaca, and the first clear view of it by the mariner sailing northward marked the place and time when a change in course became necessary, the expression 'clear-seen Ithaca' would have a special effect and meaning for all sea-captains and mariners. The Achaeans were evidently a maritime people. The catalogue of ships shows all the leaders well supplied with vessels. Professor Chadwick ² says the name of the Achaeans is mentioned by the Egyptian historians in the account of the sea-raids on Egypt in the twelfth century. The *Odyssey* itself supplies various stories of Viking-like cruises. From its use by seamen, the expression 'clear-seen' might well become attached to Ithaca as a special and characteristic epithet.

As a matter of fact, we have just such a point of view of the historic Ithaca presented in an ancient poem. In his article already referred to, Professor Manly writes; ³ "According to the Hymn to Pythian

¹ III, p. 520.

³ *Ithaca or Leucas*, p. 5.

² H. M. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 189.

Apollo, Ithaca is visible from the west coast of Elis. A ship is sailing along the west coast of the Peloponnesus, under the direction of Apollo, bound for Delphi. It leaves Pylos and passes by Crouni, Chalcis, and Dyme and along the shore of Elis, and makes for Pherae. From this position appear under the clouds the steep mountain of Ithaca, Dulichium, Same, and woody Zacynthus." The Greek original, which he quotes in a note, contains, in fact, much of the exact language used by Homer in describing the return of Telemachus. This passage seems to indicate that there was a traditional picture of Ithaca from this standpoint, and tends to confirm the conclusion from the internal evidence that the picture of Ithaca in the Ninth Book was taken from a description of the island as it appeared from this locality.

To one looking northward from the sea off Cape Trepito, Thiaki, the historic Ithaca, would appear like a single mountain peak. This would be the southerly mountain, as the northerly mountain would lie behind it and not be visible. This southerly mountain must be Neriton in order to fit the narrative. Many islands do lie about, and they all, in fact, do lie to the eastward. If Leucas were visible, only its higher peaks could be seen, and these would all appear to the east of Thiaki. Of the higher mountains, whose heights are given on the chart, Mt. Stavrota is the most westerly, and a line drawn from this mountain to Cape Trepito passes east of Ithaca. Of all the other islands, only Zante and Cephalonia could possibly be seen to the westward. Zante square to the west would hardly be noted in a picture of the peaks to the northward; and Cephalonia, centered as it would be in the mass of its great mountain Nero, much nearer the observer and towering far above all other peaks in height, would appear rather as part of the foreground. Therefore, to the observer looking northward, Ithaca, if it is Thiaki, would be correctly described as the most westerly of the low lying peaks on the horizon. The others would be truly described as lying easterly of it. This, it seems to me, is just what this famous description fairly means, if we exclude the names of the other three large islands. These names fill, in fact, just one line, and can be omitted without affecting the metre or the sense. If we omit them, the lines run thus:

And I dwell in clear-seen Ithaca, wherein is a mountain Neriton, with trembling forest leaves standing manifest to view, and many islands lie

around, very near one to the other. Now Ithaca lies low on the horizon toward the darkness, but those others face the dawning and the sun.¹

I have used the word 'horizon' to translate *πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἄλι* because it seems to me that this is what Homer meant by that expression. Liddell and Scott define *πανυπέριτος* as meaning 'highest of all.' 'Highest of all in the sea' must mean the horizon, because to an observer that is the highest part of the sea. All who are familiar with the seashore know that the ocean seems to slope upward from the land. When one stands on a height above the shore the horizon seems to be on a level with the eye, while the shore below may be far beneath. Dörpfeld says the old Greeks thought of the ocean as an inclined plane sloping up from the land. Since we are all familiar with the fact that the ocean does not so slope, the optical illusion is never thought of. We call the top line of this slope the horizon; but an observer, ignorant of the scientific fact and noting only the appearance, might well speak of the horizon as the highest part of the sea, and of an object on the horizon as lying highest of all in the sea.

If, now, we apply these lines to the actual picture, it can be seen at once that they fit Thiaki, the historic Ithaca, perfectly. From a point off Cape Trepito the historic Ithaca would be clear-seen, its southerly mountain would be Neriton and would stand manifest to view. It would be low on the horizon and it would be the most westerly of the peaks on the horizon. There are many islands lying to the east of it, and they are, in fact, near to each other. The poet does not say they are near Ithaca, only that they are near each other.

The line containing the names of the three other large islands should be omitted for the purpose of making this comparison, because the internal evidence shows it was not originally a part of the description. As the text stands these three islands are included in the expression 'many islands, etc.' Obviously they do not fit here. The 'many islands' are described as lying 'very near one to the other.' This is not true if the three larger islands are included in the group. Three islands are not many islands in themselves. To make a group of many islands the numerous small islands to the east of Thiaki must

¹ *ἀνευθε* is defined in Liddell and Scott as here meaning 'far away, distant,' and if this line could be rendered 'but those others far away toward the dawning and the sun,' it would make this description fit the view northwards more accurately.

be added. There are some twelve or more small islands, lying off the coast of Acarnania, now known as the Echinades and Dragonara islands. They are in fact near to each other, but not to the larger islands. The southernmost of them, Ochia, is probably the landmark called the 'Pointed Isles' in the poem. It is, as we have seen, the next landmark to steer by in sailing north from Pylos after passing Cape Trepito. It was natural in a nautical description of the view from off Cape Trepito to include this group. Indeed, if we believe the description was taken from a sea poem describing the trade route up the west shore of Greece, the inclusion of this group was necessary, as the group contained the landmark which a sailor should know to direct his course. Any reference to the three large islands would only confuse the narrative if this were its object. It is reasonable, therefore, to infer that the original did not contain this particular line in this connection.

Its presence in the poem itself, however, may be readily explained. Homer was not composing a treatise on geography or a coast pilot for seamen. If he drew his material for the description in the Ninth Book from some poem describing the sea-route on the west coast of Greece, he would naturally adapt it to his own uses. The lines previously quoted from the words of Telemachus and Penelope¹ show the three names linked with that of Ithaca in the parts of the poem treating of events in Greece. The three names occupy in these passages a single line just as here. These lines are identical with the line in the passage in Book 9 except for the case endings. They differ, however, in the fact that this line cannot be omitted in these other passages without affecting the context. They resemble the formulae the use of which by the poet is referred to by Chadwick² and Lang.³ Their appearance in these passages in identical terms indicates a traditionary use of the three names in this manner which the poet may well have felt required their introduction into any important passage describing Ithaca. If Homer wished to employ a description for his Ithaca, drawn from a different source, which did not contain these three other names, it would be natural for him to have inserted the accustomed

¹ *Od.* I, 245 ff.; 16, 122 ff.; and 19, 130 ff.

² *The Heroic Age*, p. 320.

³ Andrew Lang, *The World of Homer*, London, 1910, p. 254.

line. Its inconsistency with the truth would not be apparent to any one not personally familiar with the locality or not possessed of at least a good map. There is no difficulty, therefore, in explaining its presence here.

There is a further consideration which tends to confirm the theory that the description in the Ninth Book was drawn from some narrative describing the sea-route north from Pylos. If the theory be right, the essential features would be: first, the signal marking the time and place for a change of course; second, the means for identifying such signal; third, the next landmark to steer for. These facts are all to be found in this description, and indeed they constitute the whole description, if we omit the doubtful line. 'Clear-seen Ithaca' and its mountain Neriton are the first. Low-lying on the horizon to the west the second. The group of many islands with its peak of Ochia lying to the eastward is the third. The description embodies everything the sailor needs and nothing more.

On the other hand, if we try to interpret the picture from a landsman's standpoint, there is no adequate explanation for the inclusion of the group of small islands to the eastward. They must have been very inconspicuous objects from the shore of Elis. They do not seem to constitute a characteristic descriptive detail in connection with any one of the four large islands, and it is very difficult to see why a landsman should refer to them in any way. There is also the difficulty in this case of giving any special meaning to the epithet 'clear-seen.' From the point of view of a landsman the description does not seem natural; from that of a seaman it is just what we should expect. If a theory is to be tested by its explanation of the given facts, the one proposed is the only one which the evidence justifies.

This theory also serves to explain another contradictory passage. In Book 21, 343 ff., Telemachus says:

My mother, as for the bow, no Achaean is mightier than I to give or to deny it to whomso I will, neither as many as are lords in rocky Ithaca nor in the isles on the side of Elis, the pasture-land of horses.

These words seem fairly to imply that the poet conceived of Ithaca as the most distant of the four islands from Elis. Leaf argues that this proves Leucas was the Homeric Ithaca. It seems on the con-

trary to prove merely that Homer had never seen the islands himself. Without having seen the islands himself and without a correct chart it would have been impossible for the poet to form a true picture of their geographic relations. The maps of the ancients are a conspicuous example of the impossibility of drawing a correct coast line from descriptions only. With only one description before him, in which Ithaca was represented as the most westerly island, it would be very natural if the poet had formed for himself the conception that it was, in fact, the most westerly island. A description intended to direct a sailor on his cruise might well mislead a poet.

Besides, it may well be that Bérard's theory that the town Ithaca was the last Greek port on the trade route is true. The settlements in Leucas were apparently on its eastern shores; and if the trade route ran out by the strait between Leucas and Thiaki, as seems probable,¹ it is obvious from the chart that it would save distance to stop at these ports first and then at Ithaca, and not vice versa. The flight of the souls of the slain suitors as described in Book 24 is confirmatory. They leave Ithaca, fly over the streams of the ocean and past the White Rock. They pass no port or place in this trip. If Homer never saw the islands, he could only have known this from such a description of the trade route as indicated Ithaca as the last Greek port.

Even if Ithaca was not the last port of call the narrative of the trade route may well have described it last, just as the *Mediterranean Pilot*, after describing Leucas, runs down the Acarnanian Shore before describing the other islands. Either way would have been sufficient to produce the conception that, as the last Greek port before passing the White Rock, Ithaca was the farthest Greek land from Elis.

It does not seem necessary to assume that Homer was personally familiar with the islands in order to explain the great accuracy of his poem in the description of his Ithaca.

In his book on the *Heroic Age*,² Professor Chadwick says, "The history of heroic poetry falls naturally into four stages. To Stage I belong the court poems of the Heroic Age itself; to Stage II, the epic and narrative poems based on these"; and again he writes,³ "The

¹ W. Dörpfeld in *Das homerische Ithaka* (*Mélanges Perrot*, pp. 79 ff.) recognizes the White Rock as the limit of Greek waters.

² Ch. V, p. 94.

³ Ch. XI, p. 221.

first is that of strictly contemporary court poetry, dealing with the praises or the adventures of living men." In the same chapter, after discussing the evidence, he concludes that the Homeric poems are a product of court minstrelsy and belong to the second stage. If the Homeric poems were based on poems by court poets, who sang about contemporary events, it does not seem improbable that in such poems the scenes of the adventures, at least in the home lands of the poet, were correctly described. If Homer could have correctly described such scenes, why could not his predecessors? That the poet himself believed in their statements, is evidenced by the praise of Demodocus which he puts in the mouth of Odysseus. In Book 8, 487 ff., we read: 'Demodocus, I praise thee far above all mortal men, whether it be the Muse, the daughter of Zeus, that taught thee, or even Apollo, for right duly dost thou chant the faring of the Achaeans, even all they wrought and suffered, and all their travail, as if, methinks, thou hadst been present or heard the tale from another.' It does not seem possible that Homer could have put this statement in the mouth of his chief character, if he himself had not valued accuracy as one of the most important elements of the poet's art.

There is more difficulty in the assumption that Homer was familiar with some poem or narrative correctly describing the places, ports, and courses known to the world of his time. But as to this there is some other evidence. It is apparently now established by archaeological researches that there was an extensive commerce throughout the Mediterranean long anterior to the Achaean period¹ and that this commerce was largely in the hands of the Cretans during their supremacy. Sir Arthur Evans² has expressed the opinion that the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* took much material from a Cretan Epic. Bérard goes much farther than this and believes that all the sea-tales and voyages described in the *Odyssey* were taken by the poet from some Phoenician Coast Pilot to which he had access. These two views are

¹ T. E. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*, pp. 284 ff., p. 341, pp. 490 and 491; A. Mosso, *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*, pp. 266 ff. and 360 ff.; V. Giuffrida-Ruggeri, *The Origins of the Italian People*, in the *Journal of Physical Anthropology*, I, pp. 317 ff.; Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of Crete and Pre-Hellenic Europe*.

² A. J. Evans, *The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXII, pp. 277 ff.

not necessarily inconsistent. Between the time of Cretan Supremacy and that of Homer, Crete had been overthrown and her traders scattered. Evans believes¹ that many of them settled on the coasts of Palestine and that the Phoenicians borrowed or learned from them the art of alphabetic writing. If they borrowed their alphabet, the Phoenicians would have been just as likely to borrow their knowledge of the ports and sea-routes of the Mediterranean; in fact, more likely, as the latter meant profit, which has always been a keen incentive to human energy. The Cretan Epics of Sir Arthur Evans may, therefore, well have reached Homer in the Phoenician language.

It is obvious, I think, to any one familiar with the sea, that no such thing as maritime commerce is possible without a positive knowledge, on the part of the captains or pilots, of the ports, harbors, and sea-routes which must be traversed. Even if exploring expeditions are sent into the unknown, it ceases to be unknown after the expedition returns; and each new venture will add to the accumulated knowledge of the ports and harbors reached. During the many years of Cretan Supremacy there must have been a very decided accumulation of such knowledge of the Mediterranean ports. This knowledge, particularly before writing became common, would naturally be embodied in some metrical narrative. Maine, in his *Early History of Institutions*,² says: "It is extremely likely that the most ancient law was preserved in rude verse or rhythmical prose. In the oldest Irish traditions the lawyer is distinguished with difficulty from the poet, poetry from literature. . . . There is no question, I conceive, that this ancient written verse is what is now called a survival, descending to the first ages of written composition from the ages when measured rhythm was absolutely essential in order that memory might bear the vast burdens placed upon it."

It is well known that maritime nations have jealously guarded the secrets of their commercial routes. The Cretans would doubtless have done the same, and their sea-poems would be adorned with a choice assortment of dangers to deter the uninitiated who might wish to use them from following the routes. A very interesting illustration of this

¹ *Scripta Minoa*, I, Oxford, 1909.

² H. S. Maine, *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*, p. 14.

is given by Evans.¹ Among his evidence he pictures a seal impression from Crete showing a marine monster attacking a ship with a seaman standing on its deck and striking at the creature with some weapon. The long neck and dog-like head are very reminiscent of Homer's description of Scylla; but they are also suggestive of the long tentacle with its expanded end of the giant squid; and the story of Scylla is more than eclipsed by the modern stories of attacks on ships and seamen by this creature, or its cousin the octopus.² It is also to be noted that the octopus is a favorite item of diet in the Mediterranean region, and a familiar motive in Cretan decorative art. It is further to be noted that Circe's directions to Odysseus for passing Scylla and Charybdis are literally identical, as Bérard points out, with the modern sailing directions of the *Mediterranean Pilot* for passing the Straits of Messina, the traditional locality of these horrors.

Bérard discusses with great fulness the evidence which he believed justified the opinion that some narrative describing the ports and trade routes of the prehistoric world existed in Homer's time and was known and used by him. The opinion of Evans that Homer drew on some Cretan Epic for the material for his poems, in a measure, confirms this hypothesis. Crete was a great commercial nation. Marine subjects are in common use in its decorative art. If it had poets, it is certainly probable that the adventures of its sailors would be a favorite topic. Its art is noted for its realism, and surely its poetry must have exhibited a similar love for truth. No poem about seafaring men could well be composed without some description of the ports and places visited and of the experiences of the voyages. If such poems existed, it is not only possible but probable that the descriptions were correctly drawn. No race of seamen would enjoy compositions which rang untrue to their ears.

That Homer was familiar with stories of trading or viking cruises is apparent from the *Odyssey*. That some of those poems may have correctly described the sea-routes and harbors of the west coast of Greece does not seem improbable. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume that Homer might have drawn the description of Ithaca which

¹ *The Minoan and Mycenaean Element in Hellenic Life*, p. 291.

² Paul Bartsch, *Pirates of the Deep, Stories of the Squid and Octopus*, Smithsonian Report, 1916, pp. 347 ff.

he gives in the Ninth Book from some poem or narrative describing this sea-route. The internal evidence agrees with this supposition. It also indicates that the line containing the names of the other three large islands was not originally part of the description. We can see a good reason why Homer might have interpolated this line. On this theory the passage is quite in harmony with all other evidence in the poem and points to the historic Ithaca as the home of Odysseus.

NOTE. The chief difficulty in reaching a common agreement as to the identification of the Homeric Ithaca appears to lie in the passage in Book 9. As commonly translated it affords a very reasonable basis for Dörpfeld's theory. The argument generally advanced that Leucas was not one of the four islands is unsatisfactory. Dörpfeld's view that Arkudi was Asteris and Leucas one of the four islands seems the more probable. Dörpfeld's argument is defective because he does not take into consideration the important evidence contained in the passage in Book 4. It is contrary to all canons for the interpretation of documents to found an argument on only part of the evidence. If Homer was describing a particular island, all his descriptions should reasonably fit some one island. The problem is whether any reasonable explanation of these two passages can be found which will make them both apply to the same island. The solution proposed may not be correct, but it has the merit of affording such an explanation. It may well be that further consideration will develop a better solution.

In addition to the authorities mentioned in the article itself, I have consulted the following:

Sir William Gell, *The Geography and Antiquities of Ithaca*, London, 1807.

Peter Goessler, *Leukas-Ithaca, Die Heimat des Odysseus*, Stuttgart, 1904.

Wilhelm Dörpfeld, *Leukas*, Athens, 1905.

Hugo Michael, *Die Heimat des Odysseus*, Jauer, 1905.

Josef Gröschl, *Dörpfelds Leukas-Ithaca-Hypothese*, Friedek, 1907.

T. W. Allen, *The Homeric Catalogue*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXX, pp. 292 ff.

William Martin Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, London, 1835, vol. III.

I am aware that I have not cited all the books and articles that have been written on the subject, but as there seems to be little difference of opinion as to what the relevant passages in the poem are, it is hoped that no really relevant passage has been overlooked. The relative weight and value of the different passages as evidence is naturally a matter of judgment, and it did not seem helpful to discuss the various views of the different writers except

in so far as has been necessary to correct inferences that appeared erroneous. The references to Dörpfeld's view of the evidence are to Leaf's statement of that theory, which I thought, after reading both, very clear and complete.

I have been greatly assisted in this study by the references given by Mr. Shewan in the article already referred to, and by his summary of the essential evidence. I am also indebted to Professor Herbert Weir Smyth, who very kindly read the first draft of this article and made various helpful suggestions. He did not, however, undertake to examine it critically, so that I alone am responsible for all errors and omissions.